MAN!

"Man is the measurement of everything."

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THEY SHALL NOT PASS!

Today, after six months of fighting, after six months which have meant the loss of many thousand lives, the people of Spain are determined more than ever that the enemy *shall not pass.* That is the battle-cry of our brothers in Spain who have so heroically shed their blood and lost their lives in this great and memorable struggle. That is the cry of the men, women and children of Spain who have opened a new era in the social history of mankind. That is the cry which all workers throughout the world, all the oppressed who for the last six months have been looking at Spain as the inspiration of Social Revolution, that is the cry of all the disinherited of the universe fighting for the rights of all. Today, more than ever, when we see how courageously and firmly the people of Spain are holding back the enemy, today more than ever we can exclaim: *They shall not pass!*

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More than two months ago the rebels announced that in a few days Madrid would be taken. They reached Madrid, but they have not taken it. They cannot take it, for they are confronted with a fighting people, a people who will not surrender, a people who will die fighting, a people whose firm determination is that they will crush fascism once and for all. The rebels touched Madrid, but they cannot go through for they found erected a large banner which reads: *They shall not pass!*

In the meantime, developments within Spain are fast and far-reaching. Last minute dispatches claim that the fascists have resumed activity in northwest Madrid where they had encountered certain difficulties. With this attack the fascists aim to cut off the road of the Escorial which is of vast importance. In the south of Madrid the antifascists admirably hold their own and announced the occupation of Villaverde Bajo. Madrid heroically resists in spite of the air bombardments of the fascists. Madrid will be the doom of fascism, for Franco and Mola are at the end of their resources. They would have been a long time ago had it not been for the open aid of Italy and Germany. On the Aragon front the advance of the Catalan militia approaches Saragossa with surety; Malaga is daily reinforcing its defenses, while in the section of Oviedo the valorous Asturians have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. In Catalonia, fascism was killed at the very beginning of the conflict, and the Catalans are doing their utmost in sending aid to the antifascists in other parts of the peninsula. Throughout Spain the tide is in favor of the people. Throughout Spain there resounds the cry of the people against the enemy, the cry of justice, freedom and equality against tyranny, oppression and dictatorship.

They shall not pass!

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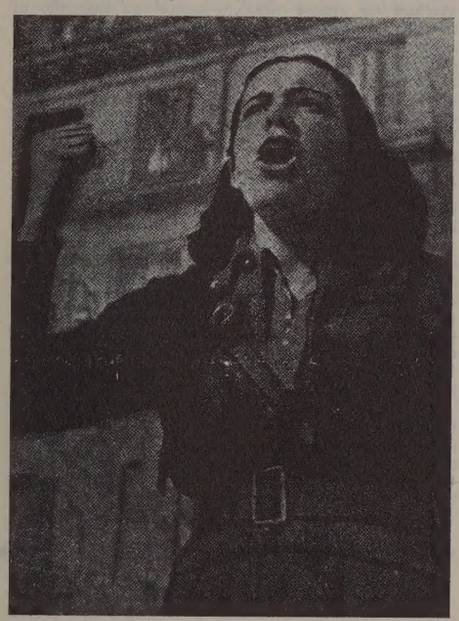
In the meantime, the fighting within the country is overshadowed by the diplomatic encounters outside Spain. It is now an established fact that all the governments of the world are determined to crush the libertarian aspirations of the Spanish people. While France and Leon Blum are covering themselves with ignominy and awaiting developments under the betraying mantle of non-intervention, while Stalin and Moscow are playing the game of diplomacy, England is showing itself in its true colors. The Anglo-Italian pact is more than an attempt to see that fascism will be victorious in Spain. This agreement, which states that Italy and England are aiming to keep the status quo on the Mediterenean and—the territorial integrity of Spain, is of far



greater importance. The Anglo-Italian agreement aims to render impossible the libertarian and revolutionary realizations in Catalonia. This is a point on which all journalists agree. They are aiming directly at the Catalans who, after two days of battle, were definitely and decisively able to crush fascism, to set up an autonomous government and to put once more the wheels of progress in motion. The agreement did not aim to stop the sending of Italian aid to Franco. In fact, the day after the agreement was signed, 5,000 Italian "volunteers" were sent to Spain. What clearer example of international determination to aid Franco can be given?

What clearer example of the attempt of all governments to aid the spread of fascism can be given than the maneuvers of this country during the last week? The echoes of the President's message to Congress had scarcely died away in the House Chamber on January 8th when the legislative wheels began spinning in a race to amend the Neutrality Act before the steamship Mar Cantabrico could get away from her pier in Brooklyn, N. Y., with about one million dollars worth of airplanes and other supplies sold to the Madrid government by Cobert Cuse, Jersey City vendor of second-hand war supplies. More than that, the government of this country has succeeded in placing enough pressure on the Mexican government to ban the export of airplanes and war materials to Spain.

Thus, while the heroic population is fighting for equality and justice, it finds itself surrounded by the open aid to fascism. While all governments are declaring a "hands off" policy., they are attempting with an iron fist to crush the people of Spain.

But the people of Spain go on—the fighters advance, their determination is more acute than ever, for they see before them those symbolic words: *They shall not pass!*

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In the meantime, we are confident that international solidarity for the people of Spain is evident everywhere.

July 19, 1936 will remain in history as a stepping stone in the progress of Social Revolution. The date does not signify merely the beginning of the emancipation of the Iberian people. It signifies the beginning of a real and deep awakening of the peoples of the world. For six months the Spanish situation has been on the lips of everyone. The cause of the Spanish workers is in the hearts and minds of all the workers of the world. And it must be so, for the cause of the Spanish workers is our cause. It must be so, for what the people of Spain are doing today we may have to do tomorrow.

Workers of the world! This is an appeal to all the oppressed. This is an appeal to all those who feel the Spanish situation. It is your duty to give your utmust solidarity to the Spanish workers. It is your duty to make those around you aware of the fact that their fight is our fight. You must see that money and arms, over the veto of all governments, are sent to the people of Spain. You must propagate the cause of the Spanish workers to those around you.

Youth of the world! We are calling to you to come to the aid of the people of Spain. It is you who lend vitality, freshness, beauty and inspiration to any movement. It is you who tomorrow must carry the burden on your shoulders. It is you who, like the spring of the year, lend life and enthusiasm in life. It is you who must raise your strong voice of protest against the villainous attempt of the tyrants of the world to crush the greatest example of the struggle for emancipation.

We must be, body and soul, with our brothers in Spain. We must make their cry our cry. Together, as we clasp hands across the seas, together we must shout: *They shall not pass!*

RAY RANDALL

BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI

This name has meant a man of courage who was always at the battlefront for five months of the valiant struggle going on in Spain; this name was that of an indefatigable man of iron who, in moments of defeat, was the source of courage and inspiration to the Spanish workers fighting side by side with him; this name has spelled for every worker throughout the world a man of firm principle and faith, a man of action and strength. The loss of this man in the Spanish struggle means, for the people of Spain, the loss of a real fighter, a real *comrade.* The death of Buenaventura Durruti is a great sorrow felt by every oppressed man throughout the universe.

Little is known of this man. During the five months of battle, in which Durruti was always at the front, the press has often spoken of him as a "great leader." But he was not a leader in the bourgeois sense of the word. He was not a leader as the capitalists and rulers are wont to think of as leaders. His leadership was a spontaneous feeling for the cause and right of all the oppressed workers of the world. And it was this strength of conviction, this firmness which made him a believer in direct action, which made him a truly courageous man, a real fighter.

This energy and faith which has no limits, is well described by Pierre Van Paasan of the "Toronto Star":

Durruti is the man who led the victorious bayonet charge of the People's Militia on the stronghold of the Fascist rebels at San Rafaele yesterday. Durruti was the first in the Hotel Colon in Barcelona, when that building, which spewed death for thirty-six hours from two hundred windows, fell before the onslaught of the well-nigh bare-handed libertarians. When a column is ready to drop with exhaustion, Durruti goes to talk new courage into the men. When things go bad up Saragossa way, Durruti climbs aboard an airplane and drops down into the field of Aragon to put himself at the head of the Catalonian partisans. Wherever you go it's Durruti and Durruti again whom you hear spoken of as a wonderful man."

When things seemed to be going badly for the people in Madrid, it was Durruti and a column of men from Barcelona who marched to Madrid and succeeded in pushing back the rebels. It was in Madrid, on November 20th, while he was speaking to a crowd of militiamen who had just returned from the most advanced position, that he was shot through the back from a hotel in Montcloa.

Durruti's whole life was that of a consistent and courageous anarchist. Wherever there was activity, wherever there were workers fighting for their rights, Durruti was present lending a hand in the cause that was his as well as his comrades'. The fact remains that he led a strictly principled life. It is no wonder, then, that he was an anarchist who died fighting for a cause which exemplifies the most noble and beautiful ideal of mankind.

As we recall the man who was Durruti, we recall the many known and unknown men, women and children who are dying in Spain. As we pause over the biers of all our dead comrades, we must ever remember their cry as well as our cry: *They shall not pass. Long live freedom. Long live Anarchy.*

THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN CALL TO YOU

For fully five months the people of Spain are waging an heroic struggle for their right to live as free men. That small caste-class, which for centuries has been exploiting the people of Spain, on July 18th staged a counter-revolutionary massacre in order to regain once more its erstwhile lost reign. It must never be forgotten that this caste-triumverate of Capitalists, Church and Army Officials did not dare inaugurate its black reactionary fascist attempt on the soil of Spain. Nor was it able to obtain any of the real people of Spain to aid them in their dirty work. They had to begin it all outside of Spain, in the same way that they had to hire Moorish mercenaries and ordinary murderers to compose their army. Nor must it be forgotten that so constituted a fascist counter-revolution could not have lasted but a few days, if ever begun at all, had it not been for the direct cooperation and participation of the fascist governments of Italy, Germany and Portugal. The first two named regimes have been furnishing all the officers, mechanics, instructors, airplane bombers and pursuers, hand grenades, guns, rifles and poison gas. With all of this the traitors of Spain have been able to slaughter tens of thousands of people and to turn cities and countrysides into tombs of devastation and ruin. Portugal is being used as the channel through which Italy and Germany are furnishing all possible aid to the Spanish fascist butchers.

The reaction of the people of Spain to the fascist counter-revolutionary attempt shall always stand out as a beacon light to every individual throughout the world struggling for Liberty.' It shall always stand out as a guide to which we can always look back for inspiration. Always shall we remember it with pride just as we remember the Paris Commune.

To fully comprehend the heroism of the struggling people of Spain one need but think of the tragic position in which they found themselves on July 18th. First; their own government *knew* of the plans of the fascists yet *did nothing* to stop them. Second: when the fascists began their murderous attack, the central government was still unwilling to give arm to the people. Third: even the coalition Socialist-Communist central government has refused to aid the Catalonian anti-fascists because of the predominance of the anarchists. Yet it was this predominance that was fully responsible for and succeeded in completely wiping out the fascist snakes in Catalonia within two days of their appearance on July 18th. Fourth: they were surrounded by a world of "public opinion", of press and governments that would have cried for bloody vengeance had such an attempt as that of the Spanish counter-revolutionists been made by any oppressed people of the world. In spite of all these obstacles, hindrances, betrayals, press lyings that the people of Spain are encountering, they have succeeded in resisting all enemies; inner and outer ones, hidden and open ones. They have succeeded in progressing and advancing in spite of all the adversity of all the governments of the civilized world.

As anarchists, we do not recognize the right of any government to exist at all. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that mankind allows itself to be ruled everywhere by governments through laws, although we know that governments, as well as their laws, are but a fraudulent hoax of deceit whereby and through which only one class of people derives benefit—*the robbers of life, freedom and happiness.* The truth of our contention has never before been brought out as clearly and strikingly as it is being demonstrated today by all governments toward the people of Spain.

According to International Law, every "legally" elected government is allowed to purchase arms and ammunition from any other "legal" government. The "legally" elected government of Spain was, therefore, within its full right in expecting that International Law would be respected by other governments. It is here where the fraudulent deceit of all governments unmasked itself in all its ugliness. Initiated by Leon Blum, Socialist Prime Minister of France, and supported by the Bolshevik government of Russia and all the fascist and democratic governments of Europe, an embargo against the selling of arms to either the fascist mercenaries or the attacked people was enacted on August 24th.

The result of this—the greatest of all acts of treachery and deceit in modern history—is that the fascist participants in this embargo have openly flaunted it by continuing to furnish the fascist bandits with all the men and implements of destruction they can make use of, while the people of Spain are being deprived of the right to obtain arms with which they could defend themselves on an equal footing with their enemies.

Upon realizing that the clandestine aid to the fascist butchers of Spain could not succeed in crushing the heroic defense of Madrid—despite the daily air-bomb-massacres of hundreds of men, women and children—the twin monsters of Europe, Mussolini and Hitler, have come forward with the recognition of their Spanish brother-monsters as the "legal" rulers of Spain! Now one can but expect direct and open aid from Italy and Germany to the fascist assassins. In the meantime, the scoundrels ruling England in behalf of the exploiters who fear the total loss of their industrial investments in Spain should the fascists lose, are tacitly approving the misdeeds of the twin monsters. The English rulers and exploiters likewise fear that a victorious revolution in Spain may lead to similar revolutions in Italy, Germany, all their conquested colonies and even unto their own borders. That was also the reason why they allowed the Duce monster to rape Ethiopia at will. Revolution is, as always, what all rulers and exploiters fear the most.

Although the United States government has no official embargo on the selling of arms to Spain, news has already come forth showing how anxious the leading officials of this country are for a fascist victory. Their motives are the same as those of all rulers; namely, to safeguard the interests of the exploiters. That is why in October U. S. government officials scrutinized the Spanish freighter "Sil" when it was ready to sail with a load of food, clothing and medical instruments—donated by friends of the Spanish people. What the officials were really looking for were arms and ammunition that might be hidden on the ship. (1).

These facts cannot fail to show the international solidarity that emanates from all governments towards the fascist bandits who are now attempting to again subjugate the people of Spain under the iron reign of exploitation and terror.

In this *international treachery* against a people fighting for life and liberty we must not overlook the open acts of treachery committed by the officialdom of the labor movements of France and England. We must not overlook the fact that the American Federation of Labor has enacted the same sort of treachery at their recent convention at Tampa, Florida. Nor must we overlook the almost complete silence and inactivity of the Second Socialist International or the Third Communist International, both—until now—pretendful "vanguards" that were to lead the oppressed of the world in the latter's struggle for emancipation. The paper and lip service protests of the Bolshevik government in October and of the French Socialist premier in November, against the open flaunting of the embargo agreement by Germany, Italy and Portugal, cannot and will not wipe off the slate their continuous acts of duplicity. They may not even succeed in placating their own followers. The fact remains that the fascist governments have given more solidarity to their fascist brother murderers of Spain than did the two pretendful followers of Karl Marx—as the heads of two powerful governments—give to the people of Spain. Upon their heads and hands, therefore, must be placed the life of every worker murdered in Spain since July 18th by the fascist bandits. No charlatanic maneuver of Blum or Stalin can wipe out that great sacrifice in the shedding of workers' blood as a result of their participation in the world-wide embargo-aid agreement to the fascists.

What a tragic mockery upon Marxism! The Paris Communards were drowned in blood through the direct aid of Prussian militarism. Today—in a struggle far greater and wider than the Paris Commune—the heroic fight of the people of Spain is being stabbed in the back, not only by Prussian militarism, but by world-wide fascism, monarchies, democracies, dishonest labor officials—as well as Socialist and Communist governments.

Under these tragic circumstances of deceit and betrayal to the people of Spain who are fighting not for their freedom alone, but for the freedom of all the masses of the world, what can the oppressed of the world outside of Spain do? If the spontaneous acts of solidarity, evinced by the rank and file of all social movements as soon as the attack began, had not been thwarted and knifed by the Blum and Stalin regimes in conjunction with labor officials, the result would undoubtedly have been a swift victory for freedom in Spain. Despite all the hindrances placed in the way of the readiness of all the oppressed of the world to assist in destroying forever the enemies of Spanish freedom and justice, these same oppressed have continued to render whatever material and moral support they can possibly furnish—to the valiant fighters of Spain.

If the people of Spain have thus far failed to crush the fascist demon, it is because they lack arms and ammunition. They have the necessary men, but that is not enough. The fascists have very few men, most of them being bought, but they have the most modern and powerful machinery needed to destroy human lives and cities. The struggle against the invaders of Spain shows that the Spanish people will never surrender. In the meantime, men, women and children are being wantonly murdered. This must be stopped. And the only ones to stop it are the workers outside of Spain. The workers of France, England and Russia must see to it that arms and ammunition of every kind must immediately be sent to the people of Spain. The time of paper resolutions, pleas and implorings from labor fakers and governmental hypocrites must cease. The only language that rulers understand and fear is that of *direct revolutionary action by the people.*

The traitors responsible for the murdering of tens of thousands of workers in Spain should be made to pay in full for their treachery.

The heroic and valiant fight that the people of Spain are carrying on calls to all of us to match that heroism so that the struggle will end in the ultimate triumph of Freedom. We must answer that crying call—by furnishing arms and ammunition, if necessary—even to the extent of crushing all opposition. The triumph of the people of Spain will signify not only their own emancipation from every form of oppression and tyranny, but also the nearing of the liberation of all of mankind.

The people of Spain call to you.
The time to act is now.
Let no true lover of Liberty fail to respond.

MARCUS GRAHAM

(1) Since then the Neutrality Act of this country has been altered to include a ban on shipment of arms to the government of Madrid.

Enemy Within

Fascism is bad enough indeed, but the worse, by far, is the enemy within . . . For long it has not been possible to thus speak out, but now the sabotage has gone so far that silence would be cowardly, nay, criminal . . . It has been felt up to now that the knowledge of any rift would be grist for the Fascist mill. However, the danger from all sides is too great for further diplomatic consideration.

There are so many inexplicable things to be taken under consideration in this terrible welter of slaughter. First of all is the question why the comrades should have joined the United Front at all, for it has led, and inevitably was destined to lead them into the most contradictory steps and is daily proving a graver danger than Fascism itself. The growth of the villany of the enemy from within is due to too much tolerance from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in order to show that anarchism would suppress no one but armed or avowed Fascists—hence they have given the socialists and communists all too much leeway with the result that both these age-long enemies are sabotaging the revolution right and left. This, comrades, is the greatest danger for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Being men of their words, our comrades cannot well stop the pernicious counter-activities of their own allies. But in spite of this most discouraging situation, with the Fascists at the gates of Madrid, our comrades go about their constructive labor as though there were no Judases and armed enemies within and without their ranks. The great hope of the Fascists is not so much aid from other countries as it is the development of feud within the ranks of United Front. Beyond this, is the horrible realization that organized trade union movements throughout the whole world are organized into a veritable fortress against everything the C.N.T.-F.A.I. stand for. Out of the thousands of pounds they have collected, our people have received nothing; of the more than $86,000.00 sent to Citrine in Paris, not one solitary peseta has been received by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

EMMA GOLDMAN

Emma Goldman, still a militant and fighter in our ranks, is today in Spain. The above message, reprinted from "Spanish Revolution", speaks for itself. *Editor*

On Revolution

We must have a revolution, I am told. Well and good! But first I must ask you: What do you mean by Revolution? That I should shed my blood, get my body maimed and mutilated merely to get rid of one set of politicians and make way for another? That I should give my life to get rid of one dictatorship in order to put another in its place? That I should help establish another centralized state and government? If that is what you mean by Revolution, I must say no, a thousand times no. I am tired of your states and governments; I am sick of the promises and deceptions of your political parties and slimy politicians. I am disgusted with your churches, police force and militia. I am more disgusted with your so-called radical political saviors of the workers.

If, by Revolution, you mean the building of a free society without priest, preacher or politician, then I say yes, five thousand times yes. Do you mean a society without government, where the workers shall have all the good things their labor has produced? Where beauty, art and love will be had by all mankind? Then I am a revolutionist!

Today our hearts go out to those brave anarchists and syndicalists in Spain who are dying to destroy fascism and to build a free society. I rejoice over the fact that the anarchists and syndicalists are cooperating with these brave, valiant fighters in the vanguard for freedom in Spain. I rejoice over the International Solidarity of workers for the Spanish people. We go with them to their fields of battle; we are with them again in the hospitals; we are with them in full sympathy when they and their children are tortured and murdered by the fascist mobs. Their gains and losses are our gain and losses; their suffering is our suffering.

We never forget, for the day of reckoning is fast approaching—the day when fascists and all rulers shall pay for their folly. All our hopes, all our ambitions go out to the building of that free society that knows no race, creed or color.

GUY B. ASKEW

JAPANESE MARTYRS

Hippolyte Havel

The greatest men of a nation are those whom it puts to death.
Ernest Renan.

A crime, unparalleled in atrocity, was committed on January twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and eleven in Japan. Ruthless barbarism cold-bloodedly strangled the heroic pioneers of a new idea and gloated over the agony of its helpless victims. They were falsely accused of having plotted against the life of the Emperor Mutsihito.

A new epoch has struck for Japan with the date of their martyrdom. When the era of Mikado shall have passed from man's memory, when *bushido* is but a fable and a myth, the names of the martyred Anarchists will be glorified on the pages of human progress. When the members of the *Daishinin*, who delivered the noblest of mankind into the hangman's hands, shall have been long forgotten, the martyrs of Tokio will be respected and admired by future generations.

The revolutionary movement in the Orient has received its baptism of blood. The barbaric rulers think to have eradicated the movement for emancipation. What stupidity! They have destroyed the bodies of twelve representatives of the new, world-conquering idea, and silenced other representatives in the dungeons; but the spirit lives! That spirit, the eternal cry for liberty,—it is not to be silenced, it cannot be killed. It was, it is, and will be. Conquering it marches onward, ever onward, toward liberty and life.

Long live Anarchy! The historic cry has found its echo in the Far East. Often it has resounded, from the lips of the martyrs of Chicago, Paris, Buenos Ayres, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Barcelona, and numerous other places. For decades it has been terrifying the tyrants and oppressors of every land. They have tortured, beheaded, electrocuted, quartered, shot, and strangled the pioneers of the new idea. But their voices have not been silenced.

Long live Anarchy! On the twenty-fourth of January the cry once more rang from the lips of twelve new martyrs. The solidarity of the international proletariat has been crowned. The West and the East have found each other.

Proudly and joyfully our comrades faced death. *Long live Anarchy!* cried Denjiro Kotoku. *Banzai* (i. e. forever) replied his companions in struggle and death.

They were very dear to us. We mourn not; yet our hearts are saddened at the thought of the charming Sugano. Lovingly we dwell upon her memory. We see the tender lotos ruthlessly destroyed by the hand of the hangman; we behold her, weakened through illness, broken by long imprisonment, yet joyfully and calmly meeting her terrible doom. *I have lived for liberty and will die for liberty, for liberty is my life.* Thus she wrote to her English teacher in San Francisco.

Gentle Sugano! You, the daughter of a Samurai, daughter of a member of your country's Parliament, talented author and writer, you went, like your Russian sisters, into the people, voluntarily exposing yourself to danger, hardships, and hunger.

Some day there will arise a Turgeniev in the land of Nippon, and the name of Sugano Kano will be hailed with the Sophia Perovskaias, the Vera Figners, and Maria Spiridonovas.

In Denjiro Kotoku the international movements has lost one of its noblest representatives. He was the pioneer of Socialist and Anarchist thought in the Far East. His numerous translations—Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid, Conquest of Bread, Fields, Factories, and Workshops,* and *Appeal to the Young,* as well as of other modern works—have accomplished the *real* opening of Japan to Western civilization.

While the patriotic jingoes celebrated, during the Russo-Japanese war, orgies of wholesale man-killing, Kotoku was engaged in exposing the murderous business by his brilliant articles in the *Yorozu-Choho.* But the voice of the prophet was lost in the wilderness. Like Victor Hugo, Mazzini, Blanqui, Bakunin, Marx, and scores of other pioneers of liberty before him, he was forced to flee his native land, to live in exile at San Francisco, and here, in the land of Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, and Jefferson, he was to suffer new persecutions at the hands of the government of Washington.

Denjiro Kotoku, Sugano Kano, Dr. Oishi, and their comrades legally assassinated; these, the noblest and most intelligent of their people: writers, physicians, representatives of pure Buddhist philosophy of human brotherhood, and awakened, intellectual proletarians,—these are the men slaughtered in the hope of annihilating every vestige of modern world-thought.

Lovingly and tenderly we peruse over again an old letter from Dr. Oishi. In strong, clear English he sends greetings to his American comrades and requests Anarchist literature for distribution among his countrymen. The much beloved, genial physician of Shingo-Key, bringing cheer and relief to the thousands of sick and afflicted. His only reward, the gallows.

The names of the murdered comrades are as follows:

Denjiro Kotoku, Journalist and Essayist. Age 41.

Seinosuke Oishi, a doctor, studied in America. Age 45.

Qudo Uchiyama, a Budhist priest. Age 32.

Tadao Niimura, a small landowner; 25.

Uichita Matsuo, a landowner and journalist; 35.

Uichiro Niimi, a journalist; 32.

Suga Kanno, a journalist, sweetheart of Kotoku; 31.

Umpei Morichika, formerly an official of local government; originally a small farmer; 31.

Rikisaku Furukawa, a horticulturist; 30.

Takichi Miyashita, a merchant; 42.

Kenshi Okumiya, a very old revolutionist; 55.

Heishiro Naruishi, a law student; 25.

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Kotoku's mother, seventy years old, came from her native province of Kochi-Tosa, to see her only son. Shortly before the close of the trial she was permitted to interview him in the presence of the authorities. The aged woman addressed her son stoically and urged him to face death like a Samurai, the ancient warrior.

The interview was brief, being confined to the admonition to her son to be brave, and she did not drop a tear. He did not reply, and the mother returned home, where she died two days later. After the final hearing in court, Kotoku was shown a telegram telling him of his mother's death.

When the sentence had been pronounced all the condemned cried *Banzai! Long live Anarchy!*

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No other country has made such a sudden leap from patriarchic feudalism into modern capitalist industrialism, as Japan. This unprecedented transformation has taken place within a very few decades. When, in 1804, the Russian ship "Nadejda" entered the port of Nagasaki to establish friendly relations with the legendary Empire of Nippon, the offered friendship was unceremoniously rejected. Japan would have nothing to do with the barbarians of the West. Since the massacre of the Portuguese missionaries only a small band of Dutch merchants was tolerated in the land of the Shogun. Such extreme exclusiveness, however, could not be maintained in the face of the nineteenth century. Admiral Perry succeeded in opening the country to Western trade, and within a century after the appearance of the "Nadejda," Japan stands in the foretront of "civilization"—in point of armament and ordinance her army and navy proving superior to those of Russia.

But the transformation in the industrial life of Japan has brought no blessing to her people. Here too, as everywhere, capitalism called into life the most horrible conditions. A system of exploitation, such as can hardly be paralleled in any other civilized country, is now sapping the life of the sons and daughters of the land that had once been the paradise of a happy people.

The modern globe trotter who knows of Paris only the Boulevards and is quite ignorant of the existence of the proletarian quarters, sees in his travels through Japan merely the beautiful exterior, and returns home without an inkling of the real life of the exploited masses. Artistic enthusiasts like Lafcadio Hearn, Pierre Loti, and Mme. Judith Gautier, have drawn a veil of poetry over the misery of the Japanese proletariat. But the pitiful sight of frail, delicate women and girls, whose poverty forces them to carry heavy loads of coal to the large steamers in the ports, soon dispels the poetic fancies that scintillate in the works of such writers.

Dr. Kuwada, a member of the House of Peers, describing the condition of the Japanese working men and women in the Tokio review, *Shin Koron,* says that the treatment of the factory girls in Japan is enough to shock humanity.

There are in Japan about 20 thousand factories and workshops, employing about a million laborers. Of this total about seven hundred thousand are females. As there is no law limiting the age of factory hands, almost ten per cent. of the female laborers are under fourteen years. Twenty per cent. of the girls employed in the match factories, and one per cent. of those in the glass and tobacco factories, are even under ten years. In many factories the girls are not even allowed time for meals, but are required to eat while working. Almost all cotton-spinning factories keep their looms in operation day and night. Night work, in which both male and female operatives are engaged together, is found most demoralizing. The lash is employed without stint; sometimes girls are imprisoned in dark rooms, or required to work with reduced rations; in many cases their wages are so diminished by "fines" that they leave the factory penniless at the end of their contract terms. The condition of male workers is just as inhumane; that of miners beyond description.

It is but natural that such a state of affairs should have roused the conscience of the best and ablest men and women of Japan. They are raising their voice in protest against these economic horrors. Thanks to their zeal, modern revolutionary ideas, expressed through Socialism and Anarchism, are now spreading the message of international brotherhood among the oppressed and exploited masses. The very government, which during the late war permitted revolutionary literature to be distributed among the Russian captives, finds itself face to face with the growing spirit of revolt at home.

As in most countries, there are also in Japan several tendencies of Socialist thought: Marxists, represented by the able Mr. Katayama, and the Anarchists or "Kropotkinists,' also known as the "Allied Socialists," whose ablest exponent was Denjiro Kotoku. The movement as a whole is naturally still very weak. It was the war with Russia which furnished the proper leaven for its growth.

* * *

One of the pleasant memories of our martyred Japanese comrades must have been their friendship with European and American radicals, among whom were Leopold Fleishmann and Albert Johnson, the veteran Anarchist of California. Thanks to Leopold Fleischmann, Denjiro Kotoku, T. Sakai, Sen Katayama, Dr. Kato, and others came in closer touch with the social struggle in America. It was also through Mr. Fleischmann that Denjiro Kotoku met our old friend Albert Johnson, the acquaintance soon ripening into a friendship which continued even after Kotoku returned to Japan. The result of their intimacy now comes to us in the form of an extensive correspondence. I am indebted for these valuable letters to Leonard D. Abbott, of the *Current Literature.*

The letters are reproduced as written, since any attempt to edit them would but detract from their charm and simple grandeur. One can readily see that Denjiro Kotoku had joined the army of the social revolution and that as thinker, fighter and organizer he gave himself unreservedly to the cause of human emancipation.

Of great value is the letter wherein Kotoku speaks of his development to Anarchism and the reasons therefor. Evidently the economic and social conditions which act as a leaven in Europe and America operate with the same force in Japan. Even as we, the Japanese are confronted with identical pressing problems demanding solution.

Denjiro Kotoku was a scholar engaged with deep philosophic questions. Like Renan, Strauss, and Bruno Bauer, our Comrade was devoting himself during his last imprisonment to a work containing a severe arraignment of Christianity. What a strange coincidence that at the very moment when Professor Drews' work on Jesus Christ was causing such a furore in Germany, the Japanese Anarchist thinker, in a Japanese prison, with death staring him in the face, was elaborating the same theme.

Tokio, Japan, Nov. 25th, 1904.

Dear Comrade.

I feel very happy to inform you that this picture * was reproduced from that which you sent me, and is published from *Heimin Shimbun* office, a Socialist weekly. I have been prosecuted on the charge of publishing a treasonable article and sentenced to five months' imprisonment. When this card is in your hand I will be in Sugano Prison of Tokio.

Yours fraternally,

D. Kotoku.

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* Picture of Peter Kropotkin.

Tokio, Dec. 30th, 1904.

Mr. A. Johnson.

Dear Comrade:—In replying I thank you very much, for I have received Mr. Kropotkin's address and many valuable literatures which you sent to me.

Both as a source of argument and reference, Mr. Ladd's work, "Commentaries on Hebrew," should be of great value for me, because I am an atheist or agnostic, and always fighting against the dogma of Christian and all other religions.

I regret that I did not have a chance of reading late Mr. Hearn's work, but I think it should be a good authority, as he lived himself a complete Japanese life during many years till his death.

As already informed, I was prosecuted by barbarous government on the charge of inciting to the alteration of the Dynastic Institution and sentenced to five months' imprisonment, but I soon appealed and second trial was postponed until January 6th.

Beside this I was sentenced on 20th inst. to a fine of 80 yen on the charge of translating and publishing Marx's "Communist Manifesto." What beautiful Japanese Government is! Is it not quite same to Russian despotism? I ever remain,

Yours fraternally,

D. Kotoku.

Odawara, Japan, Aug. 10th, 1905.

Mr. A. Johnson.

Dear Comrade:—I have just received your letter of July 16th, and translated it orally with great pleasure for my wife, who listened very attentively with most gratitude for your friendship and kindness.

We could not help shedding tears of sympathy with your youngest daughter having lost her husband recently, and of thankfulness in knowing that you

(Continued on page 6)

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

A New Year

The end of an old year and the beginning of a new one revokes in mankind the desire to reflect over their doings during the past 364¼ days. It puts into most people, no matter how persecuted or enslaved, the desire to rejoice and contemplate over the wonders of the world around them.

Rejoice? Over what? The beginning of this year finds us as much enslaved as ever. Politicians are as ever contemplating ways and means of further enslaving us. Lawmakers are now assembled in Congress, farcically yet tragically piling up the statute books with new laws "for the good of the people." All around us we see poverty and misery. The bread lines are as long as they were a year ago. The jobless are as numerous now as they were last year, in spite of the oratorical attempts of the president of this vast wealthy country to convince us that we are much happier and far better off than we were a few years ago. And in contrast to this, we see the wealthy as wealthy as ever. They have not lost their spatial palaces; they have not lost their millions, for they still have the masses who produce their wealth for them.

Rejoice? There is only one thing over which the workers of the world have a right to rejoice. We can be happy when we think of our Spanish comrades who have arisen and torn themselves from the shackles of slavery, our Spanish brothers who are fighting for the rights of all the oppressed throughout the world. The year 1936 will stand out as a bright light in the pages of the history of the world. It marks the beginning of the great social revolution which will mean the ultimate liberation of all mankind.

Contemplate? Yes. While around us we see the sufferings of humanity, while around us we see the betrayals of corrupt politicians, while in far-off Spain we see a population so determined to fight fascism and tyranny, we must contemplate, we must reflect. We must remember that we have the inherent right of enjoying anything and everything that life has to offer. We have the strength to fight oppression, tyranny, rule and enslavement. Only when we realize that within us lies the fate of the future, only when we realize that we are the masters of our fate, then only will we be able to prepare the way for men to live as free happy beings. On the brink of a new year our one and only resolution should be that we will now, as always, demand our right to live as individuals in a free society which knows no race, creed or color, which knows no law or authority, but which understands the rights of *men* living as *men.*

"Radical" Reactionaries

Within the last few years, radical groups and organizations have become more or less interested in the question of right of asylum. Not to be omitted from this category is the Communist Party which has lately shown itself in one of the vilest acts against human rights—and it is a true showing of the Communist Party.

The reference made here is to the case of Leon Trotsky, exiled from Russia to Norway, and asked to leave Norway.

In the two Americas, Mexico is the only country which has given proof of respecting the right of asylum. We have learned of several political refugees who, sentenced to deportation in fascist countries and even in this democratic country, were admitted in the republic of Mexico where they found asylum. The most recent case in this country is that of Otto Richter who entered Mexico last month.

And now we read of Leon Trotsky who, forced to leave Norway—and this because of the pressure which the "proletariat" dictatorship of Russia placed on the social-democratic government of Norway—has asked for admittance to Mexico.

The name of Trotsky is not one which brings words of praise from the revolutionary movement. We remember him as the persecutor of Makhno; we remember him as the general who ordered and directed the massacre of Kronstadt. Trotsky is an unscrupulous man who, like all marxist and non-marxist politicians, is greedy and desirous of power, no matter what the cost may be. But that is not the point. The fact remains that Trotsky is a political refugee and he has the inalienable right of asylum. It seems, however, that the Communists do not reason along this line. No sooner had the Mexican government announced its intention of admitting Trotsky than the Mexican Communists were up on their soap box to raise the usual noise the party always raises. In fact, we read in the issue of December 9 of "The Daily Worker" that the Communist Party of Mexico has protested to President Lazaro Cardenas, has urged him to rescind the governmental deliberation of allowing Trotsky to establish himself in Mexico. As an alibi they stated that the happy relationship between the governments of Mexico and Russia, together with the aid which the Mexican government is giving to Spain, would suffer with the presence of Trotsky. It seems that President Cardenas has closed both ears to the demands of the Communists.

It is indeed a shameful thing to see the communists, who are more or less persecuted on the whole American continent, assume so reactionary, so vile, so low an attitude toward a person who, when all is said, is always a political exile.

To fight the ideas of Trotsky, to denounce his political aims, is one thing; to ask a government to refuse a man admittance to a country, to ask this of a government who hates the communists more than they could possibly hate Trotsky, that is something different. This is the lowest, most shameful act of imprudence. But this is the demand of Stalin and the government of Moscow, and the communists must heed the demands of their "boss." That is their work, their duty. As designated from Moscow, they must bow to acts of spionage and reactionary provocation as a hatred for all the victims of bolshevik persecution.

The name of Trotsky is less hateful than that of Stalin—simply because he is in a position to do less harm to humanity. But above the person rises the question of the right of asylum. In this light the attitude of the Communist Party is more ignoble and reactionary than that assumed by the government of Mexico.

Free Speech and Assembly

The right of free speech and assembly is a constitutional right in this country. It is one of the basic rights on which was founded this "great Democracy." This right of freedom of thought, speech and assembly has for more than 150 years been a beckoning call to refugees of other lands who have dreamed of these United States as a haven of refuge, a country wherein stands the bell of independence, a country wherein is erected the monument of our forefathers—depicting justice, equality, education.

Yet, we quote from the N. Y. Times of January 10, 1937: "Thirty-seven of the forty-eight United States have on their statute books laws dealing with criminal syndicalism, criminal anarchy and sedition. Adopted for the most part in the period of 'red' scares that attended and followed the World War, these laws have been invoked frequently in the prosecution of radicals.

"Typical of the more drastic of the laws is the Oregon criminal syndicalism statute, adopted in 1933. Defining criminal syndicalism as 'the doctrine which advocates crime, physical violence, sabotage or any unlawful acts or methods of accomplishing or effecting industrial or political change or revolution,' the statute holds guilty of a felony not only persons who disseminate such doctrines but 'any person who shall call together or conduct or assist in conducting any assemblage of persons which teaches or advocates the doctrines of criminal syndicalism or sabotage.'"

Two years ago, in the case of Dirk de Jonge, arrested for participating in a meeting at Portland, Ore., called by the Communist party to protest police raids during a longshoremen's strike, the law was held to cover any meeting held by a "criminal syndicalist" organization, even if the meeting was admittedly lawful in purpose and orderly in conduct.

We learn that last week, in a unanimous decision read by Chief Justice Hughes, the United States Supreme Court overruled the Oregon court. The Court held that "while the states are entitled to protect themselves from the abuse of the privileges of our institutions through an attempted substitution of force and violence in the place of peaceful political action in order to effect revolutionary changes in our government, none of our decisions go to the length of sustaining such a curtailment of the right of free speech and assembly as the Oregon statute demands in its present application. The holding of meetings for peaceable political action cannot be proscribed."

What does all this mean? First of all, it signifies that there are in existence in this country laws which are a violation of the constitutional rights of every individual. But it signifies something more. Both the legislative and judicial bodies of the government rearrange and change the laws to suit themselves. The Courts, which are supposed to be the interpreters of the laws and must see to it that justice is administered, are nevertheless continuing to uphold the Labor Department in its deportation drive which is sweeping this country. During the last three years the number of deportation cases in this country reminds one of the Palmer raids of 1919-20. It means that the courts themselves have no respect for the constitutional right of freedom of thought, speech and assembly. It means that the courts have failed in their purpose. It means, above all ,that the people must realize that the system of government is a checkerboard with the players shifting the burden of blame and responsibility on the shoulders of the next player. Who are the losers? You and you! Will you always be the losers or will you realize that you have certain rights which are inalienable and cannot be denied?

Strikes-Still Strikes

After ten weeks, the strike of the Marine Transport Workers still continues. It continues on the Pacific Coast, in the South and on the Atlantic seaboard. Begun on the Pacific coast where the agreements of the general strike of 1934 have been violated in every respect by the reactionaries of the west, where the marine workers who were active in the general strike have since been persecuted, it has extended to all the ports of this great republic. In the west the strike signifies a fight for the rights granted the marine workers in 1934; in the east it is a strike of solidarity. In the meantime the racketeers—even organizers in the union of the marine transport workers—are doing their best to crush the gains which the workers are trying to receive. The intervention of Madame Perkins and the Labor Department, strike breakers to the nth degree, means that the government will not allow the strike to go on. So far, they have accomplished nothing. But their aim is obvious. Their purpoe is to suffocate the workers to the greatest extent, to throw to them, together with these so-called labor organizers and leaders who are nothing but fakers, "la poudre aux yeux," to blind them, to quiet them.

In the meantime, we read of another strike which is hitting one of the most important industries in this country—the automobile industry. Although the strike has spread to many states in which General Motors has factories, it centers at Flint, Mich., where union men passed their second week occupying strategic Fisher Body plants. New strikes and shut-downs caused by lack of bodies increased the impact of the movement duringt the last week, so that the number rendered idle increased from 35,000 to 100,000 out of General Motor's 200,000 employees.

Governor Murphy, democratic governor of Michigan, has entered the stage as go-between. His task was difficult because the company refused to consider union demands until the strikers evacuated the factories. This the workers refused to do unless they received a signed guarantee from the company officials that they would not attempt to remove any dies. In mass production, dies are the specially shaped metal members between which a sheet of metal is pressed into the shape of an automobile part. It was said that should even a single set of dies be removed from the Flint factories to other factories, the production of Chevrolets, completely stopped in Michigan, could be resumed. The company refused to sign a pledge about the dies.

In Philadelphia, workers of the Stetson Hat factory staged a two weeks' strike. All the workers of this large plant were out. But suddenly the strikers were ordered to return to work. What had happened? The strike was settled. By whom? The company and union leaders. Under what conditions? The same as those conditions for which they went on strike.

These are a few examples of "strikes" that are going on in this country. While the government boasts of the ammelioration of working conditions, we see all around us workers who are dissatisfied. Strikes are a loss of money to the capitalists. To the workers it means sometimes the loss of life, a job, the starvation of their families. Strikes are effective means showing workers' solidarity. But to be effective a strike must be a *real* strike—a *general* strike. There must be no arbitration, there must be no interference from Labor leaders who are the ruination of every strike. Workers throughout the country, those of you on strike and those of you not on strike, remember that it must be you and not the labor organization who must stage the real strike. It is *you* who must make your demands heeded, it is *you* who must lay down your tools and refuse to lay hands on them until you get what your labor has produced, until you can live as human beings, not dogs whose master occasionally throws them a bone

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In Reply

Our contemporary, "Vanguard," dedicates a whole page of its latest issue to the worthy cause of exposing MAN! as a messiah of "Ivory Tower" Anarchism. This it does in a lengthy expectoration of animus and nonsense which reminds one of the chatterboxes coming forth from the Bolshevik intellectual barracks. Speaking of "Ivory Tower," we must remember that viewing Anarchism from below, as do many of our comrades, oftentimes means falling in the mire. The conclusion of the lengthy exposition is that it would be "appropriate to go into the reasons which brought about the parlous state of the movement right here in this country."

With this conclusion we agree and suggest that "Vanguard" start its inquiry from its own home ground.

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ON RELIGION

TWO CAPITAL OBJECTIONS

From a Lecture by **Sebastian Faure**

To get it over with the God of Creation it seems to me indispensable to examine two objections.

Pray, believe that in this matter I have an abundance of objections, so that when I mention "two objections" to be examined I refer to two of them which are considered both classical and capital. Their importance is derived from the fact that with the habit of intelligent discussion the rest of the objections can easily be brought within the realm of these two.

First Objection:

"GOD ESCAPES YOUR COMPREHENSION"

They say: "You have no right to talk about God the way you do. You present us with a God-caricature systematically reduced to the proportions which your comprehension is only capable of according. The God which you present is not ours. Our God you cannot conceive because He overtakes you; He escapes your comprehension. Knoweth ye! that whatever in the way of might, wisdom and knowledge might appear fantastic and immense even for the most powerful man, it is only child's play to our God. Don't forget that Humanity could not move on the same level with Divinity. Remember that it is as impossible for man to comprehend God's ways as it is impossible for animals to comprehend man's ways. Or as it would be impossible for the Mineral Kingdom to work the same way as the Animal Kingdom."

"God rises to heights that you could never overtake and occupies summits inaccessible to you."

"Knoweth ye! that no matter how magnificent human intelligence might be, no matter how great an effort it might realize, no matter how persistent the effort would be, human intelligence will never rise up to God. Finally, remember that, however great a man's mind might be, it is finite and, consequently, cannot conceive the infinite."

"Have then enough loyalty and modesty to confess that it is impossible for you to comprehend and explain God. Yes. However, the fact that you can neither comprehend nor explain God does not give you, as of consequence, the right to deny Him."

And here is my answer to the theists.

You are giving me, my good sirs, some advice on loyalty with which I am very well disposed to conform. You are calling me down to the legitimate modesty becoming the humble mortal whom I happen to be. Loyalty and modesty! From neither I like to depart.

So you say that God overtakes me, that He escapes my comprehension? So be it. I will admit that and also that the finite can neither conceive nor explain the Infinite: this last contention is so true, so evident that I have no desire to oppose it. Up to this point we are in full accord and I hope you are satisfied.

Only, gentlemen, on my turn, permit me to give you the same advice of loyalty; please, allow that I call you down to the very same modesty. Aren't you men like me? Doesn't God overtake you as He does me? Doesn't God escape your comprehension as much as He does mine? Or have you the pretense of moving on the same level with Divinity? Have you the affrontery of thinking, and the foolishness of stating that with a simple beat of your wings you have reached those summits occupied by God? Are you so presumptuous as to affirm that your finite mind has embraced the Infinite?

I don't want to offend you, gentlemen, by believing that you are tainted with this extravagant vanity.

You have, then, as I had, the loyalty and the modesty to confess that if it is impossible for me to comprehend and explain God, you also come across the same impossibility. And, finally, be sincere enough to admit that if the fact that I cannot conceive and explain God doesn't give me the right to deny Him, the very same fact, which also holds true for you, does not give you the right to affirm Him!

Do not think for a moment, gentlemen, that we are now on equal conditions. It was you who first affirmed the existence of God and you should first withdraw and stop your affirmation. Would I ever have thought of denying God if, when I was yet a child, it would not have been imposed upon me to believe in Him, if, when an adult, I would not have heard it affirmed all around me, if I had not constantly seen churches and temples raised and dedicated to God? It is your affirmation that provokes and justifies my denials.

Cease to affirm and I will stop to deny!

Second Objection:

"THERE IS NO EFFECT WITHOUT A CAUSE"

This second objection seems to be quite dangerous. Many consider it almost indisputable. It originates from the spiritualist philosophers.

These gentlemen say in a self-assuring manner: "There is no effect without a cause; the Universe is an effect; then, this effect has a cause which we call God."

The argument is well represented; it seems well construed and solidly based.

All depends, though, in proving whether it really is so.

This form of exposition is what is called a syllogism. A syllogism is an argument consisting of three propositions, the first two being called the major and minor premises and the third called consequence or conclusion.

For a syllogism to be impregnable two conditions are necessary:

1) the major and minor premises must be exact;

2) the third proposition, the conclusion, must be logically derived from the preceding premises.

If the syllogism brought forth by the spiritualist philosophers embodies these two conditions, it really is indisputable and all that would be left for me to do would be to bow in recognition; if it lacks one of these two conditions, then the syllogism is void, valueless, and the whole argument falls short.

In order to establish the soundness of the syllogism let us examine the three propositions which constitute it.

The first proposition is the major premises: "There is no effect without a cause."

Philosophers, you are right. There is no effect without a cause: nothing can be more exact than this. There is not, there cannot be any effect without a cause. Effect is nothing else but the following, the continuation, the end of a cause. When you say effect, you say cause as well; the idea effect *immediately* and *necessarily* calls for the idea cause. Would it be otherwise, the effect without a cause should be an effect from nought, which is absurd. Therefore, we agree on this proposition.

The second proposition is the following: "The Universe is an effect." Ah! but here I ask you to reflect; I demand some elucidations. On what do you base such sure, definite affirmation? What is the phenomenon or the aggregation of phenomena, what is the observation or the sum of observations which warrant such categorical statement?

And, first of all, do we know the Universe well enough? Have we studied, scanned, examined and understood the Universe in such a manner that would permit us to be so definite about it? Have we penetrated its abysses? Have we explored the infinite spaces? Have we descended to the oceans' depths? Have we ascended every summit? Do we know all the things within the Universe's domain? Have we pulled all the veils, penetrated all mysteries, solved all enigmas? Have we seen all, touched all, felt all, observed all? Have we nothing else to discover, nothing else to learn? In short, are we in a position to give a formal appraisal, a definite opinion, a certain decision about the Universe?

Nobody can answer all these questions affirmatively. We would have to pity deeply the fool or the insane who would dare to pretend complete knowledge of the Universe.

The Universe! It is to say, not only the humble planet which we inhabit and on which we drag our miserable carcasses; not only the millions of known stars and planets which are part of our solar system, but also the other numerous Worlds whose existence we either know or suppose, although their number, distance and extensions are yet incalculable.

Should I say: "The Universe is a cause", I would surely provoke the cries and protests of the believers. And yet my statement would be no more crazy than theirs. My temerity would be equal to theirs, that's all.

If I observe the Universe as man's acquired knowledge permits me, I see something like an incredibly complex and entangled whole; an inextricable and colossal piling up of causes and effects which determine, link, succeed, repeat and penetrate themselves. I see that the whole forms a kind of endless chain whose links are steadfastly bound. I notice that each of these links is, from time to time, cause and effect: effect of the cause which determined it and cause of the consequent effect.

Who can say: "Here is the first link, the link-Cause"? Who can say: "Here is the last link, the link-Effect"? And who can say: "There is necessarily a First-Cause, a Last-Effect"?

The second proposition, "The Universe is an effect," therefore lacks the indispensable condition of exactness. Consequently, the famous syllogism has no value.

I will add that even if this second proposition would be exact, before accepting the conclusion, it should be definitely proved that the Universe is the effect of a unique cause, of a prime cause, of the causes' cause, of a causeless cause, of the eternal cause.

Unmoved and without worry, I will wait for this demonstration. This demonstration has been tried many times but has never been successful. We can easily say that this demonstration will never be given seriously, positively and scientifically.

Finally, I will add that even if the entire syllogism would be correct it would be easy for me to turn it against the thesis of the God-Creator and in favor of my contention.

Let us prove it:

— There is no effect without a cause.

— All right.

— Now, the Universe is an effect.

— Agreed!

— Then this effect has a cause and it is this cause which we call God.

— Let it be so.

But, my good theists, do not proclaim your triumph yet. Listen to me attentively.

If it is evident that there is no effect without a cause, it also is plainly evident that there is no cause without an effect. There is not, there cannot be a cause without effect. When you say "cause", you say "effect"; the idea of cause *necessarily* implies and immediately calls for the idea effect. Otherwise, the cause without the effect would be a cause of nothing and it would be as absurd as an effect of nothing would be. Therefore, it is well agreed that there is no cause without effect.

Now, then, you say that the cause of the Universe-effect is God. Therefore, it is proper to say that the effect of the cause-God is the Universe.

It is impossible to separate the effect from the cause as it is equally impossible to separate the cause from the effect.

Finally, you affirm that the God-cause is eternal and I conclude that the Universe is also equally eternal because to an eternal cause must, necessarily, correspond an eternal cause. Consequetly, God being eternal, the Universe is also so, and if the Universe is eternal it means that it has never been created. Is that clear?

MAN!

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

H. Havel, Editor

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Education In Spain

Ignorance has always been the most powerful auxiliary of the Spanish Catholic masters. By maintaining the masses in ignorance they rendered them more malleable and increased the number of fanatics.

Indeed, fanaticism in Spain is so anchored and remote from our modern times that even the Catholics themselves, of more advanced countries, could never grasp as being possible the reactionary and barbarian program their co-religionists were advancing in that country.

We quote from the program of the Catholic party by Don Juan Clazabel, prominent leader: "...We abominate liberty of conscience, thought, beliefs, and all the liberties of damnation or perdition, with which the imitators of Lucifer perturb, corrupt, and destroy the nation. We abominate it with all the energy of our soul; even to our last breath. We wish to fight liberalism, progress, modern civilization and its accomplices and advocates..."

Now, may we not say, with such a platform proposed by the masters, and the powerful revolutionary light thrown upon it at present by the masses, that the Priests have been completely annihilated and that for that kind of religion there will not be any come-back?

In trying to stop progress and crush freedom, they have proven that they were not ordinary enemies, but murderers killing men before they reach maturity.

But surely, there were public schools in Spain with clerical teaching-luxuries of the wealthy. Elementary education had been compulsory since 1857 and free to children whose parents were unable to pay, since 1901. These "privilege" rights of education were only granted after bloody rebellions. Nevertheless, the law was not and could not be enforced.

And why? Because the Catholic masters were opposed to it and because they were able and in a position to use sabotage against its enforcement.

Generally, masters of any kind demand efficiency and competence on the part of their employees. However, in Spain, when the school teacher came to a village or city to assume his position, he was told by the proper authorities, his employers: "Here, we don't want you to be too smart; don't show off, and don't be too zealous. To read write and to count a little, teach them that, and nothing else. That's all we require from you." And the teacher who took interest in his work was soon out of a job. He was discharged because he carried out his teaching too well.

There are all kinds of idioms and dialects in Spain. Those who speak the true Spanish language form a kind of aristocracy; they form a nation in the midst of another nation. Only the Catholic priests make use of these idioms. When a teacher would reach a community to take his position, he would find himself like a foreigner in a strange land. As an aristocrat of the language, he had to gain the sympathy of the foreign masses, being, at the same time, hated and looked upon as an intruder by his colleagues in this aristocracy of language. So much so that Mr. G. H. Ward, an English historian, could write, in his book "Truth about Spain:"

"The ignorance of the masses is appalling. The calling of public school teacher is the most despised and worst paid of all professions: 'Tiene mas hambre que un maestro de escuela.' (He is hungrier than a school teacher), is a household proverb."

Thus, hated and despised, it is not surprising that, in order to live, some of the teachers were compelled to abdicate their profession and help the Catholic masters to crush education.

Education? A few years ago one could read in the "Heraldo de Madrid" a republican paper: "The deficiencies of the actual educational system are but faintly indicated by the fact that 10,000,000 men and women, out of a total population of less than 25,000,000 cannot read or write."

Furthermore, in their efforts to suppress education, the Catholic authorities were not even paying the teachers, and after six months or a year of work without pay, he who protested was simply dismissed. "The debt to teachers for arrears in salary," asserted the same republican paper," amounted to more than 100,000 pesetas."

(Continued on page 6)

JAPANESE MARTYRS — LETTERS

(Continued from page 3)

would have had the dinner in your house to celebrate my release.

August 6th we came to the sea-shore of Odawara, a town about fifty miles south-westernward from Tokio, to restore my health. The building in which we are now staying is a villa owned by Dr. Kato, who is devoted Socialist and is kindly attending my sickness.

Five months' imprisonment not a little injured my health, but it gave me many lessons of the social questions. I have seen and studied great many of so-called "criminals" and became convinced that the governmental institutions—court, law, prison—are only responsible for them—poverty and crime.

Among the many books which I have read in the prison were Draper's "Conflict Between Religion and Science," Haeckel's "The Riddle of the Universe," Renan's "Life of Jesus," and so forth. Besides I repeated again two interesting books which you sent me —Mr. Ladd's "Hebrew and Christian Mythology" and Mr. Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops." (By the way, Mr. Ladd often mentions Buddha as a Chinese philosopher. It is true that the greater part of Chinese population is now Buddhist, but Buddha or Gautama is not Chinese. He was born in India. He is Hindu. Several centuries after the death of Buddha his religion was introduced into China.)

Indeed, I had gone* as a Marxian Socialist and returned as a radical Anarchist. To propagate Anarchism in this country, however, it means the death or lifelong, at least several years', imprisonment. Therefore its movement must be entirely secret, and its progress and success will need long, long time and endurance.

I am now intending to live in America and Europe during several years for the following purpose:

(1) To study foreign conversation and writing which are most important instruments for the International Movement of Communists or Anarchists. I can only read English literature, but cannot speak. And writing in English, as you see, is very hard for me.

(2) To visit the leaders of many foreign revolutionists and learn something from their movements.

(3) To criticize freely the position of the "His Majesty" and the political, economic and institutions from foreign land where the pernicious hand of "His Majesty" cannot reach.

If my health allows and money, that is to be borrowed from my relations and friends, could be raised I will start in the coming winter or next spring.

Although we are now at Odawara, we will return to Tokio at next month.

Yours fraternally,

Denjiro Kotoku.

P. S.—My wife was pleased very much with many pictures enveloped in your letter.

* To Sugano prison in Tokio.

Tokio, Sept. 5th, 1905.

Dear Comrade.

I thank you very much for the present of Kelso's "Government Analyzed," which I received last night. I soon read the preface of the author. I think it is a very valuable book and I will learn many things of the evil of government and the good of Anarchy from it.

My health is recovering day by day, and I am intending to start for America in the next November. In haste.

Yours fraternally,

D. Kotoku.

I have read Mr. Ladd's article, "Japan Leads the World," in *Searchlight* of July.

Japan, Dec. 18th, 1906.

Dear Old Friend and Comrade.

The winter has come, the leaves have fallen. It is, however, very fine weather. The sky is blue, the sunlight is warm. So I am very happy at my village home.

My wife went to the law-court to attend as a hearer to the trial of Comrade Osugi this morning. Comrade Osugi is a young Anarchist student and a best friend of mine. When I was in San Francisco he wrote to you in French language and Mrs. Ladd translated it for you. Do you remember it? Well, Mr. Osugi is now under the trial on the charge of "violence of the press law." He translated an article titled "to the conscripts" from a French Anarchist paper and published it in *Hikari,* Japanese Socialist paper. This anti-militaristic deed was prosecuted by the public officials. I am now anxious to hear the result of that trial. I think it will be probable the sentence of several months' imprisonment and the confiscation of printing machine. How good law and government are!

The most comical fact of the results of the late war is the conciliation (or rather embrace) of Christianity with Buddhism and Shintoism. The history of Christianity in Japan was until now a history of horrible persecutions. The Japanese diplomatists, however, earnestly desiring to silence the rumors caused and spread in Europe during the war that "Japan is a yellow peril" or "Japan is a pagan country," suddenly began to put on the mask of Western civilization, and eagerly welcome and protect, and use it as a means of introducing Japan to European and American powers as a civilized Christendom. On the other hand, Christian priests, taking advantage of the weakness of the government, got a great monetary aid from the State, and under its protection they are propagating in full vigor the Gospel of Patriotism. Thus Japanese Christianity, which was before the war the religion of poor, literally now changed within only two years to a great bourgeois religion and a machine of the State and militarism!

The preparation for the Socialist daily is almost complete. I hope the daily will have a success. The Japanese Socialist Party consists, as you know, of many different elements. Social-Democrats, Social Revolutionists, and even Christian Socialists. So the daily would be a very strange paper.

Most of our comrades are inclined to take the tactics of Parliamentalism rather than Syndicalism or Anarchism. But it is not because they are assuredly convinced which is true, but because of their ignorance of Anarchist Communism. Therefore our most important work at present is the translation and publication of Anarchist and Free-thought literature. I will do my best, and use our paper as an organ for the libertarian propaganda.

In China the rebellions and insurrections are spreading. The social and political conditions of China are just same to that of Russia in last century. I think China will be within the coming ten years a land of great rebellion and terrorism. A group of Chinese students in Tokio is becoming the center of Chinese Revolutionary movement.

Yours very truly,

D. Kotoku.

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RED FASCISM

As a result of the large-scale, costly, but well organized bluff-apparatus, guided from Moscow, through the entire world more and more people of *all classes* become "friends of the Soviet Union" . . . Indeed, it is necessary to mark with quotation marks those five words, because they really mean: *friends of the Stalin dictatorship,* friends of the growing class of technocrats, whose living conditions become more and more enviable to the petty bourgeois and unemployed diplomats in countries where a collapsing capitalism is ruling. Those kinds of friends are in fact the enemies of the Soviet proletariat.

In spite of the tremendous bluff, here and there throughout the world are to be found, however, a few men who observe, think and strive to acquire a correct understanding of the new social system which develops and takes hold in the country called in anti-phrase the Soviet Union: for a long time already the Soviets over there, indeed, have been playing only a seeming role. When one finds oneself confronted with a phenomenon never before observed, a new term is needed to give it a name. Some call the Soviet system: "state capitalism"; others, "state socialism." Comrade L. Lora(in Esperantoland known by the name of L. Revo), the leader of the French magazine: *The Marxist's Struggle,* used the expression: *Inca system,* analogically with that which existed more than a thousand years ago in the Inca Empire, at that time consisting of the countries now known as Peru, Bolivia, Chili and Ecuador.

We are willing to admit that as yet an entirely suitable term does not exist. But without worrying about the accessory question, we have already without trouble called the regime system of Stalin: *red fascism.* To justify that expression we will simply remark that the black (Italian), the brown (German) and the red (Soviet) have the following traits in common: one sole party with one sole boss, commanded by absolutism; all freedom of speech and assembly is absent; the press is censured; the opponents of the regime are jailed or executed; militarism is rampant, glorified and in every way developed; parades, demonstrations and all kinds of demogogical processes are employed in order to fool the masses.

"But you disregard that in the Soviet Union, the factories and all estates belong to the state," whispers into our ear some Comrade, clinging to his illusions.

—It is true! But does that mean that the conditions of all the people are better on that account? The truth is that the managers of factories and engineers hold rank and enjoy living conditions much better than those of the common laborers who live in poverty. Even the blindest will finally see that in the Soviet Union the classes or—if one prefers—the difference in rank becomes greater and greater. The rhythm of that differentiation even hurries more than we ourselves had foreseen. In the paper *For Industrialization,* published in Moscow, the issue of November 14th, 1935, are reports about engineers who received for the month of October: 1) Bubir: 8,250 rubles; 2) Bilinski: 10,425 rubles. In contrast to those "princely" salaries, the great majority of workers receive only from 170 to 200 rubles a month. In no other country is the difference as great as in the country where it is said they are building socialism. The engineers mentioned can have an automobile, luxurious apartment, some servants, etc., etc. Never and nowhere were the masses more shamelessly exploited than they are now by the rising class of technocrats.

To those who willfully close their eyes and stop their ears, we will not get tired of asking:

1) *In which country must men have a passport in order to go from one town to another?*

2) *In which country are the workers registered like convict-laborers by means of a work-card?*

3) *In which country, DURING PEACE TIME, are deserters condemned to death and in case they get away, their relatives punished with imprisonment for* 10 *years?*

4) *In which country are workers condemned to death on account of a PROFESSIONAL ERROR (for example, railroaders)?*

5) *In which country is the death penalty to 12-year old children legally applied?*

Such enslaving working conditions, such monstrous laws exist and are applied *only* in the Soviet Union, something which irrefutably justifies the expression *red fascism* and proves that it is even more abominable than the black or brown.

Those who prefer to listen to reports of tourists or read books by naive authors, accepting in good faith the entire ready-made material from the hands of swinlers hired for that purpose, are pitiable blind men from choice. By experience we know that it hurts; it is very saddening to lose our belief, to see our dear illusions blown away. In spite of that, we consider it our duty to speak out the result of our observation and inquiry, make known the reasons for our own convictions. We know that our position on the Soviet question is displeasing to many Comrades; we do not aim to please, but to be useful, to help those who wish to acquire their own opinion. By a mystical inclination to believe in the Moscow officialties, the workers are unconsciously forging their own chains, by which they will be fettered by the imitators of the Stalin regime. Hardened by the strong conviction of being right and fulfilling a duty, we disregard insults and hatred of fanatics.

From the Esperanto review *Herezulo* (Heretic)

EDUCATION IN SPAIN

(Continued from page 5)

Still this sabotage of education in Spain went further than any of us could imagine. "You want schools," said the Catholics," Well you shall get hem. And how!"

Yes indeed, and how! Here is part of an official report addressed to the Cortes by a Minister of Education:

"More than 10,000 schools are on hired premises, and many of these are absolutely destitute of hygienic conditions. There are schools mixed up with hospitals, with cemeteries, with slaughterhouses and with stables. One school forms the entrance to a cemetery, and the corpses are placed on the master's table while the last responses are being said. One is surrounded by a manure-heap in the process of fermentation; and one of the local authorities has said that in this way the children are kept warmer in winter. There is one school into which the children cannot enter until the animals have been taken out and sent to pasture."

In conclusion, we can say that there is no crime the Catholic masters of Spain have not committed to crush education. To give it what they thought would be the death blow, they assassinated the great educator Francisco Ferrer, the founder of the "Modern School." (The modern schools have flourished ever since.) The move for justice and freedom is the dominating passion of the Spanish workers; a passion that will inevitably light the spark that will lead to the complete freeing of humanity.

JULES SCARCERIAUX.

IMPORTANT

The irregular appearance of this journal is chiefly due to the financial shortcomings. Although we received a considerable amount of financial contributions during the last two weeks, readers will note that expenditures are much higher in New York than they were in California. We are anxious to see this journal resume its monthly appearance. For this reason, we urge all readers who are in a position to do so to do their utmost in helping to make the life of MAN! a long and happy one.

EDITOR

. . . ART AND LITERATURE . . .

STORIES

Vengeance

Big Jim, blacker than the ace of spades, watched the hand on the death clock move.... slowly move, eating away the minutes of a lifetime. The Negro, a few minutes after midnight, was to die in the electric chair, that brutal Neanderthal that lurked in the little room waiting, ever waiting for a victim.

Big Jim, so the laborers at the small Louisiana saw mill town said, had raped a white woman. So, after the usual mock trial, the big black was hurried away by a big hatted two-gun sheriff and a drove of deputies to Shreveport for safe keeping.... there in the shadow of Centennary college, where, thank you, the Methodist Episcopal church, South, instructing youth in the ways of Divine guidance... still was living over the Civil war days (These Methodists just will not admit Lee surrendered.)

In due time, Big Jim was lodged in a small white room in Death Row in the State Penitentiary. Soon he was to "cook." Of course, Big Jim, saw mill worker, had protested his innocence. But that did not count in Louisiana where Huey Long was not the only piece of human bunk. The woman in the case, of course, had an illicit affair with a straw boss from the mill and, as the husband came home suddenly for a swig of corn likker, the wife screamed rape and the straw boss leaped out of the window and disappeared in the hushes near the bayou.

Soon a mob had formed. Big Jim was returning from a cat-fishing trip in the bayou, and the straw boss, seeing him, leaped from the bushes and yelled. The mob came and Big Jim was dragged before the woman. There must be an alibi, and the woman identified Jim as her assailant.

The stoic blood of the Congo still flowed lazily in the veins of the giant Louisiana negro. So, in black silence he merely waited.

Really there was nothing else to do. A white man tried to get the negro a new hearing and almost got himself lynched for the trouble. Big Jim went stoicly to the electric chair. He was cooked... then buried in a shallow grave in the prison burial ground. Six weeks later his grave was forgotten. Mock justice again had paid a visit to Louisiana.

Years passed. The woman in the rape case went insane—violently melancholy. Doctors said she still was suffering from the "brutal attack". At the insane ward the woman frequently screamed out in the night: "Black man, go away... stop haunting me... go away... Big Jim, go away."

"Pitiful case!" attendants said. "Her nerves finally gave way... that brutal attack finally caused her mind to crack."

"Should have burned that nigger," an attendant drawled.

Meanwhile the woman grew more melancholy. In her sleep she could see an electric chair... a black man, taking his seat.

One night she hung herself with a rope made of clothing she had torn into shreads. That was the end of a Louisiana rape case.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

C'est la guerre

The day was lowering on them. The shadows of the house were now stretching beyond the weather-worn, dusty bench on which they sat, facing the road. Something suddenly began to move in the distance, disrupting the stillness that was usual at this hour in the village. The blind woman, bent with age, was aroused by the sounds, and felt the bench on either side of her.

"What is that?" she asked, with a rasping, impatient voice, as if her intuition had suddenly foretold trouble.

Her companion, an elderly man who had barely known her before and had stopped a moment ago to tell her of what was going on in the country and was not able to draw her into a conversation, turned to her.

"The soldiers, Madam. C'est la guerre. They are marching to the battlefield."

"The soldiers?"

The woman shuddered and outwardly appeared more perplexed with it all. What was the meaning of that? The man explained to her:

"Yes, the soldiers. I have seen them daily marching on, thousands of them, the French, the English, and the Russians, dusty and haggard. They are going to fight for their countries. Some weep, others are drunk and laugh at it all. Perhaps I would be there with them myself if I didn't have this wooden leg. It is a living hell to be left behind too, no better than fighting. You work hard and they take everything away from you—for the soldiers."

The woman coughed to clear her throat and to interrupt him. There were sounds, now audible to her ears, of the fife and drum, and the incessant thud of heavy boots. Although blind for well nigh three decades, she felt as if she could see them marching in rows after some corporal brandishing his sword.

"Whom are they fighting?"

"The Prussians," he said.

"Again?"

"Yes, again. They couldn't abolish wars. The pity of it. And we must pay for that, not we alone, but the maimed, corrupted soldiers who will survive as well, and our children and their children also. As always, they blame someone for it. It is not Bismark now or Napoleon, but the Kaiser."

"The wars are dreadful," she offered. "I've seen them."

"They are becoming even worse," he went on, shaking a finger before his squinting eyes as if beholding a vision. "It is not only the young men... I've seen our young girls, mere children, who might be mothers some day, defiled into shame by this colossal demon, War. If the girl protests, the soldier says, 'But I may never return. This may be our last meeting.' What is there to do? Even the clergy consent to it; they say they have the sanction of the Lord to enthuse those who go to death. Mon Dieu! But it is the truth!"

There was a moment's pause. Then the woman shook her head and shouted loudly: "Sauve qui peut! *I have been through it. The beasts!"*

He turned to her and inquired: "What is that! What should you know about wars?"

She cursed loudly, unable to control the spittle around her mouth.

"Not much," she said, when she calmed a little. "Not much, except this—I'll tell you. I lost my three sons, all I had, in a war. The oldest one was killed by the enemy—a brutal death, stuck in the mouth with a bayonet as he lay wounded asking for help. And the two others, just boys they were. The nineteen year old one was murdered secretly for rebelling against a superior officer. And the other, seventeen only, was killed by our own soldiers when he got nervous in the midst of battle!

"The Prussian army once was passing through this village. An officer came to stay with me. He was fat and strong. I was helpless. Before they left he sent in his soldiers also, a dozen or more, I forgot how many. They say the French did the same in their country. Huh! Why do you think I should have gone blind and begun to rot away alive long ago? God have mercy on my soul!

"I protested—protested to the whole army as they marched by. But there was no conscience left in a nation. The soldiers only obeyed command and all else was trampled under their feet. Yes. I, too, was picked up unconscious after the army passed!

"My friend, that is all I know. Did you expect I should know more than that?"

L. W. J. CONKLIN

POETRY

Admittance

If we'd but learn to master
The knave who rules within,
There never lived the spoiler
Could rob us kith and kin;
There is no foe to equal
The ignorance we nurse,
We crucify the saviors,
We vilify and curse,

The friends who aim to teach us
And help us see the right,
We strangle those who love us
To plunderers' delight,
We give ear to the craven,
The worshippers of greed,
We toil and blindly suffer
And that is why we need.

Because we love the gaudy,
The pomp and cheap display,
We follow idle trappings
In slavish, dull array;
Whatever wrongs befall us
We have ourselves to blame,
We are our own betrayers,
The fathers of our shame.

And till we learn the lesson
That truth and fact unfold
We'll sweat and starve in darkness,
A pawn to faithless gold.
And when we cease to prattle,
To give away our gains,
We'll own the world and all
And only lose our chains.

JACK GREENBERG

Women of Spain

Never have we known peace. When first we gazed
Upon the world, its face was scarred with hate,
And in its hand a bloody toast was raised
To a grinning god whose wealth should compensate
Men for the loss of manhood. As we grew,
We saw despoiled by laughter, taunt, and jeer
The ancient truths our people had held dear.
And wit we learned—but peace we never knew.

Comrades, where love is fraud, where life is cheat,
Proudly we march with the lean hosts of death
Whose victories are wrung from brave defeat;
But this we cry with a last, choking breath:
"Oh, comrades, cup your hands in our warm blood
And drink a deathless toast to brotherhood!"

KATHLEEN SUTTON

A Question

Why stands the goddess of justice blindfolded?
Why is the truth crucified?
Will man's heart forever be wounded?
Will love of brotherhood be denied?

Does man not dare
His soul to bare?
Has he no aim, no vision?
Or does he suffer from some brain lesion?

SARAH AUSHEN.

BOOK REVIEW

JOHN REED by Granville Hicks, Macmillan Co., $3.50 - 1936.

Universities, the highest schools of learning, have long been viewed as a financial proposition—industry, at their best, and as a pastime for the "elite" at their worst. Maintained and controlled by rich donors and state subsidies, they could never be anything but props for the perpetuation of the *status quo*. Every so after there arises a notable exception amidst the learning fraternity. Among these rare exception John Reed undoubtedly occupied a conspicuous and unique place.

The picture that Granville Hicks has drawn of John Reed is chiefly based upon the printed and unprinted writings of Reed. It is in this respect that the biography reaches its zenith of importance.

John Reed lived one of the most colorful and eventful lives one could ever hope for, despite the fact that it was short-lived. He possessed, first of all, the essential requisite for the making of a radical—an inherent desire for seeking the truth. All the pompous and vain decorum of Harvard University left him indifferent and unsatisfied. This alone was sufficient to give his state of mind a turn toward radical thoughts. His journalistic career, begun in college, proved but an aid to Reed's development as a radical.

Out of college, his journalistic duties as a war correspondent brought him quick fame—and disillusion. Disillusion came via Hearst's "Metropolitan" magazine that had employed him. Hypocrisy, deceit and suppression—the chief ingredients of successful journalism in America—left Reed embittered and ever the more yearning for truth.

The first real experience of joyful contentment came to Reed during the Paterson strike of 1912. He found himself, as a reporter, sharing jail cells with striking workers. These were his after-thought reactions:

"We were frightened (said a girl striker to Reed) *when we went in, but we were singing when we came out." A good share of the Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labor have forgotten all about the class struggle and seem to be playing a little game with capitalistic rulers.—"Button button, who's got the vote?" They, the strikers, were the strike—not Bill Haywood, not Gurley Flynn, not any individual. And if they should lose all their leaders, other leaders would arise from the ranks, even as they rose, and the strike would go on.*

This critical attitude led Reed, later on, to even more critical evaluations:

And if you had a socialist Supreme Court, J. P. Morgan would organize a volunteer White Guard, and the interests of capital would still be protected. So it will always be. The struggle is between economic forces and cannot be settled on the political field.

John Reed witnessed other struggles, far more significant than the Paterson strike. He saw Wilson's invasion of Vera Cruz, the Ludlow Massacre at the behest of Rockefeller and finally the World War. At first, he, too, fell for Wilson's "war to make the world safe for democracy." But Reed realized soon enough the deceitful show of Wilson.

In March, 1917, with the ushering in of the great awakening and Revolution of the people in Russia, Reed found at last something worthwhile to work for. At once he went to Russia and gave the world the memorable "Ten Days That Shook The World." Reed cut off his relation with the journalistic

(Continued on page 8)

BRIEFS AND COMMENTARY

Last flash from last issue, or you may call it "retarded": The electoral campaign is over. "Comrade" Roosevelt has been re-elected. Beware of pickpockets!

* * *

Sheriff P. D. Peacher of Earl, Arkansas, has been convicted of aiding and abetting slavery. He used to arrest negroes on a pretext of vagrancy and use them to man his own farm. The sheriff says that he upholds the Constitution . . . minus the amendments.

* * *

The headline "Pan-American Conference for Peace" impresses me as a "No Smoking" sign in Hell.

* * *

The end of the electoral campaign has diminished an epidemic of headaches and has brought some of the political parties to the unexpected point of realizing that something is happening in Spain.

* * *

From F. D. R. to the voting suckers: W.P.A. must go.

* * *

The American Labor Party denies the existence of a rift within its own ranks due to a stampede for the 'spoils.' Mr. Antonini made the denials and we hope he finds somebody who will believe what he says.

* * *

The United Carpenters and Joiners convention, held in Lakeland, Fla. (the painful labors of these mandarins like the inexorable senility of John D. require a balmy climate) voted to expel from the "brotherhood" members who sign "communistic" resolutions and literature. Join the Union and lock your brains.

* * *

Another good exemple of brotherly love was given the other day by Joseph P. Ryan, president of the Longshoremen International Union in New York. This gentleman, who is openly working with the shipowners to break the seamen's strike, stooped so low as to stand at a corner near the waterfront and urge and incite Mayor La Guardia's cossacks to attack and disperse the picket line of seamen. So long as organized labor supinely tollerates scoundrels of this kind in its midst there will never be any chance of betterment, either economic or social.

* * *

"Non-intervention": a European diplomatic way of fostering Fascism.

* * *

The triumphal cruise of F. D. R. down the South American Republics—ostensibly to promote good-neighbor policies, but in fact to foster Yankee imperialism—has received the second moral slap. At the Pan-American Press Conference which is being held in Valparaiso, Chile, a resolution was unanimously approved calling on President Roosevelt to liberate the Puerto Rican patriots who have been imprisoned by the American courts for their activity in favor of independence, and to recognize immediately the independence of Puerto Rico. Most likely our humanitarian President will display another of his broad smiles—his major asset in decoying naive voters—and mark down another justification for his monstrous armament appropriations.

* * *

"Ivory Tower Anarchism": an anarchist's determination to struggle for anarchy rather than compromise with politics and politicians. Sound criticism within the anarchist movement.

* * *

The U. S. Congress, graciously obeying 'Its Master's Voice' rushed to enact special legislation which, by depriving Spain of the privilege of buying arms in violation of the very same International Laws once too often invoked by all countries to promote their imperialistic ends, is aimed at the strangulation of the Spanish valiant fight for freedom and social emancipation.

* * *

Every government in the world is ACTIVELY helping the fascist hordes of Franco; the workers of the world are PASSIVELY helping the people of Spain. If the workers had the guts, they could stop the conspiracy of each and every government.

* * *

According to the opinion of a comrade who is now in Barcelona, Spain is already between two dangers: Burgos and Moscow. Our opinion is that when the mercenary forces of Fascism will be dispersed by the heroic and courageous fight of the Spanish workers, the friendly liberal government of London, socialist government of Paris and communist government of Moscow will intervene in Spain to "save" the Spanish workers from the "horrors" of a complete social emancipation along the lines of anarchistic conceptions.

* * *

To the scandalized gods of peace, to the jesuitic hierarchy of the catholic church, to the timourous zealots, the high priests of yellow journalism, the humanitarian professional butchers, to the whole coterie of sycophants of international reaction, who copiously shed glycerine tears over the horrors of civil war, may we say: Give the Spanish workers the opportunity to get the arms they need and the civil war will be over in 24 hours!

* * *

By the way, do our progressive trade unionists know that of the thousands of dollars which the American workers contributed to help the Spanish workers, not a single one as been forwarded to either the C.N.T. or the F.A.I. by their trustee Sir Citrine?

COMMENTATOR

Labor's Politicians

Now that the farcical grand-stand play and political ballyhoo of the presidential election is over, it is high time that the American workers shook off their political hypnosis and did some serious thinking about their own future welfare. Both conservative and radical politicians are the arch enemies of Labor, and the writer is taking a firm anti-political stand. The American Federation of Labor, which officially endorsed the re-election of President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, betrayed the workers into the hands of the politician, together with Communists, Socialists and other political fakers.

Here on the west coast, where Labor is unusually militant and where one of the best examples of workers' solidarity is being demonstrated by the Marine Transport Workers, the slimy politicians have plunged their hands in the pie. They have made and are making of the Maritime Strike a political football for all brands of politicians. In San Francisco we find that the International Longshoremen's Association donated seven hundred and fifty dollars to the Roosevelt Campaign fund. In Seattle, the *Commonwealth News,* official organ of the Washington Commonwealth Federation—a big political machine—gleefully announced that the I. L. A., whose membership numbers 1400, has joined them en masse. In McCleary, Washington, a lumber town where the workers are on strike against low wages, long hours and industrial serfdom, martial law prevails. The strikers' wives and families have been gassed and beaten by the cossaks of the state. They were sent there by the great labor-endorsed Governor, Clarence D. Martin. The strikers are duly being rewarded by the governor they helped to elect.

Workers of America! How much longer are you going to allow your labor unions to be dominated by political saviors and parasites? How much longer are you going to look to the ballot boxes of the government for industrial and social emancipation? Politicians, saviors and leaders are parasites on the backs of Labor; they are sucking away your blood and your energies.

Workers! It is high time that we give these conditions serious thought. Let us use our energies toward the building of a free society without master or slave, without government and politicians. Let us clear the ranks of revolutionary labor of all obstruction. Let us, by direct action and general strike, prepare the building of the free commonwealth for all workers forever.

Guy B. Askew

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(To January 10, 1937)

Circolo di Cultura Libertaria, Phila., 10.00; Hammonton Ed. Club, N. J., 10.00; N. Y. Group (collected Dec. 6), 22.50; Allentown Libertarian Group, Penna., 1.00; Ateneo de Social, Newark, N. J., 3.00; Kropotkin Group, Stelton, N. J., (affair Dec. 20), 6.45; Phila. Autonomous Group, (affair Dec. 13) 31.55; San Francisco, Calif., 35.00; Individual Contributions and Subscriptions $108.43.

Total Income	$227.93
On Hand	79.44
	307.37
Expenditures	157.37
On hand	$150.00

FOR OUR SPANISH COMRADES

Published in last issue	$6.20
Allentown, Pa., Libertarian Group & Socialist Friends	13.00
Henry Vander Meer, Minn.	2.00
Total	$21.20

Individual contributions and subscriptions to MAN! are acknowledged by receipt.

AN APPEAL

We must send money to our Spanish Comrades who are fighting so valiantly. They need arms to carry on the fight. Send your contributions now. MAN! will gladly accept them and forward them to our comrades in Spain.

Book Review

(Continued from page 7)

pay world. He threw himself in, body and soul, for the cause of the Revolution in Russia.

In the midst of the Paterson struggle of 1912, John Reed conceived the idea of staging a huge mass pageant-spectacle at Madison Square Garden, with the strikers themselves as the actors. This proved a great success. Thus, in the midst of the Russian Revolution, it dawned upon Reed to stage another huge pageant-spectacle in which the masses of Russia should be the sole actors. And he wrote:

First of all, put joy into the people. Get up great pageants. Cover the city with flags and banners, and once or maybe twice a month have a gorgeous all-night festival with fireworks, orchestras, plays in the square and everybody participating.

What a soulful idealistic dreamer! The Bolshevik government, as is well known, has staged other kinds of spectacles—mass trials and mass executions of dissenting fellow revolutionists... But John Reed did not live to see these spectacles. For the short time that Reed lived he came to accept and acquiesce in the doings of the Bolshevik regime. This much is gathered from Reed's own words:

The old-timers—most of them—like Kropotkin, are entirely out of sympathy with the present movement. Their real concern was a political revolution... but what is now going on is an economic revolution which they neither understand nor care for.

The immature judgment passed by John Reed upon Peter Kropotkin needs little comment for those who have followed the course of the Bolshevik regime in Russia for nineteen years. It is only most unfortunate that John Reed is no longer among the living. Not only might he have realized his erroneous appraisal of Kropotkin, but might have had to share the fate of many decapitated fellow-comrades. For proof of this supposition, one need only read from Reed's pen:

I am not a Socialist temperamentally any more than I am an Episcopalian.... I have never been patient with cliques.... and I won't be raped into some petty gang with a platform....

Granville Hicks has written an able but, nevertheless, partisan biography of John Reed. Because of his own Bolshevik leanings, he has failed to draw the obvious critical conclusions from the mass of material he assembled. But in furnishing the material he has already made a worthy accomplishment.

John Reed was more the impetuous rebel rather than the deep thinker. He hated hypocrisy, falsehood and dishonesty. He fought the present system that is held up by these three chief props.

Since this country has thus far produced so few John Reeds, via its institutions of higher learning, this biography will stand out, for a long time to come, as an incentive inspiration to the youth of America.

MARCUS GRAHAM